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## MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

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### TWENTIETH SESSION.

The Twentieth Scientific Session of the Academy was held in Philadelphia, on Friday, November 17, 1893, at the New Century Club, at 8 p. m.

The secretary announced that the following papers had been submitted to the Academy since the last session:

165. By Professor WALTHER LOTZ, of the University of Munich, Germany: The Monetary Situation in Germany. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1893.

166. By Dr. W. W. WILLOUGHBY, Washington, D. C.: A National Department of Health. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1893.

167. By Rev. PERRY W. SINKS, Painesville, O.: The Treatment of Criminals in a Christian State.

168. By Professor WM. C. MOREY, of the University of Rochester: The First State Constitutions. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1893.

169. By FREDERICK H. COOKE, Esq., New York City: Economic and Uneconomic Anti-Trust Legislation.

170. By Professor J. C. BRANNER, of the University of California: Translation of the Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Brazil, and (171) Translation of the Political Constitution of the Empire of Brazil.

172. By Professor CARL C. PLEHN, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University: Translation of Professor ADOLF WAGNER'S Theory of Direct Taxes.

173. By Dr. WM. DRAPER LEWIS, of Haverford College: The Adaption of Society to its Environment. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1894.

174. By G. FRANK LYDSTON, M. D., Chicago: Sexual Crimes Among the Southern Negroes Scientifically Considered.

175. By Professor EDWARD A. ROSS, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University: The Total Utility Standard of Deferred Payments. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1893.

176. By Dr. F. C. HOWE, of Johns Hopkins University : Federal Revenues and the Income Tax. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1894.

177. By Dr. EMORY R. JOHNSON, of Haverford College : Inland Waterways, Their Relation to Transportation. Printed as a Supplement to the ANNALS, September, 1893.

178. By Professor R. SALEILLES, Dijon, France : L'Evolution des Lois constitutionnelles en France.

179. By D. M. FREDERIKSEN, Esq., Chicago : Mortgage Banking.

180. By Miss FLORENCE J. FOSTER, of Vassar College : The Grange, and the Co-operative Enterprises in New England. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1894.

181. By Gen. R. BRINKERHOFF, Mansfield, O. : The National Prison Association. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1893.

182. By Mr. MILES M. DAWSON, Lake Bluff, Ill. : Life Insurance in the United States. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1894.

183. By Mr. HUGO BILGRAM, Philadelphia : The Law of Value.

184. By M. PAUL DE ROUSIERS, Paris : La Science Sociale. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1894.

185. By Mr. JOHN BORDEN, Chicago : The Labor Theory of Exchange Value.

186. By Professor EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, of the University of Pennsylvania : The Mediæval Manor, Translation of a Typical Extent. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1893.

187. By Dr. LEO S. ROWE, Philadelphia : Annual Congress of the Society of Social Economy at Paris. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1893.

188. By GAMALIEL BRADFORD, Esq., Boston : Congress and the Cabinet. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1893.

189. By Dr. LEO S. ROWE, Philadelphia : The Betterment Clause of the London Improvement Bill. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1893.

190. By Sir GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH, Bexley, Kent, England : Indian Currency. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1894.

191. By STOUGHTON COOLEY, Esq., Chicago : The Proportional Representation Congress. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1893.

192. By Dr. H. L. WAYLAND, Philadelphia : American Social Science Association.

193. By Professor A. T. HADLEY, of Yale University : Interest and Profits. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1893.

194. By FREDERICK WM. HOLLS, Esq., New York City : The German American Standpoint in Party Politics.

195. By Dr. LUCIUS S. MERRIAM, of Cornell University : Money as a Measure of Value. Printed in the current number of the ANNALS.

Professor Roland P. Falkner, who had served as secretary to the American Delegation at Brussels, addressed the Academy upon the "Monetary Conference of 1892."

After giving an historical sketch of previous efforts to secure international legislation on the money question Professor Falkner said in substance:

"The result of the conference of 1892 is to be learned from an analysis of its proceedings, rather than its actual resolutions. The work of the conference clearly indicated the conditions of a successful issue and the bar to any result under present circumstances. The conditions are, first, general recognition of the evil to be remedied; second, a remedy which shall not impose unequal duties; and third, a remedy which shall be adequate to the trouble.

"The evils of the present condition of affairs were only partially recognized at Brussels. That certain States were heavily loaded with silver was not a cause for international action. That grave difficulties arose from the fluctuations of exchange between gold-using and silver-using countries was generally admitted and the need of a remedy conceded.

"That the existing industrial depression in all countries was traceable to monetary causes, which, if conceded, would be a potent impetus to international action, did not receive general assent.

"It is clear, therefore, that had a just and adequate remedy been proposed to meet the fluctuations of exchange it would have secured the approbation of the conference, which was not ready for the broader proposition of bimetallism.

"The remedies proposed, did not, however, meet the requirement of approximately equal effort. The proposition for the retirement of small gold coins and small gold notes, except those based upon silver, would fall heavily upon England and Italy. No action would be required in the United States. The proposal that gold be reserved for international exchanges, would fall equally heavily upon nations accustomed to its use in daily transactions. Again, the

de Rothschild proposition for the purchase of silver bullion, required the United States to purchase more than all Europe combined. If the price of silver reached a certain height, it was agreed that European purchases should cease, while American purchases continued. Only in the proposition of international bimetallism would the distribution of burdens be equal. But, as we have said, the necessity for international bimetallism was contested. By some, at least, its adequacy was drawn into question.

“Thirdly, the proposals were inadequate. If we accept as true the statement of evils to be remedied, then, only thorough-going legislation could be effective. The plan for withdrawing gold coin and small notes, relieves only a trifling amount of gold and makes place for only a small quantity of silver. The plan of making gold a distinctively international, instead of a national currency, goes to pieces on the objection that a currency can be *international* only by virtue of its being national. The plan of Mr. de Rothschild was not sufficiently elaborated. Its main idea was to find, for five years at least, an opening for the current silver production. But it was not measured with care to this end, and it was felt that the experience of the United States, under the law of 1890, would be repeated on a large scale. It was felt that as an upshot of the matter the nations of Europe would be loaded down with an unnecessary amount of silver.

“Any measure, to be really effective, must be so comprehensive as to approach international bimetallism. The bimetallists saw this and hence favored compromise measures. But no comprehensive measure was really any stronger than bimetallism. If adopted, it would have been dictated by the same motives which led to the unrestricted use of both metals. But those motives did not find general acceptance. Hence the failure of the conference, despite the earnest efforts to find a middle way.

“The alternative for an international monetary conference is clear, it is inaction or an international bimetallic proposal.

The first has been the fate of all efforts heretofore. Is any other result possible? Undoubtedly, international bimetalism may ultimately triumph, but we may be sure of this, that it will not have any prospect of success until Europe calls the conference and makes proposals to the United States. We need not give up hope in this matter, but, after all our unsuccessful efforts, it is clear that the initiative belongs elsewhere. That the initiative will be taken up by Europe, we have every reason to hope, and it may not be many years before an international conference is held in which the fruits of our past labors shall be reaped.

“For the present we have adopted a waiting policy. Let us hope that we shall not have too long to wait, and that the relief may come before, through our impatience, we have hurried into surprising and radical experiments.”

In the discussion which followed Dr. Rowe did not share the hope of an international agreement expressed by the speaker. He believed that the strain upon gold would be relieved by minor measures tending to increase the use of silver as money in various nations. Several such measures which had been proposed in Europe gave promise of such a result.

Dr. Emory R. Johnson spoke of the currency needs of the United States. He felt that the United States should solve unaided the problem of a proper circulation. An ideal currency would be one which would combine the features of safety, stability and elasticity. Whatever might be the forms which it might eventually assume, certain steps of the process, such as the withdrawal of the greenback circulation, were obvious at the present time.

Mr. W. H. Harned and Professor Simon N. Patten also discussed the address.

In a brief reply Professor Falkner said, “that while he might perhaps agree with the gentlemen who had spoken, he had felt it necessary to confine his discussion of the subject to what seemed possible by international action only, and the

basis and limitations of such international regulation of the currency question.''

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.

The Twenty-first Scientific Session of the Academy was held in Philadelphia on Wednesday, December 20, 1893, at the New Century Club, at 8 p. m.

The secretary announced that the following papers had been submitted to the Academy since the last session:

196. By CHESTER F. RALSTON, Oberlin, O.: Should the Legislation Regarding an Inebriate Criminal be Revised?

197. By DR. LEO S. ROWE, Philadelphia: Reform of University Instruction in Political and Social Science in Belgium.

198. By HUBERT VALLEROUX, Paris: Les Syndicats professionnels en France.

199. By JEROME DOWD, of Trinity College, N. C.: Trusts.

200. By PROFESSOR GEORGE H. HAYNES, of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute: Representation and Suffrage in Massachusetts.

201. By DR. J. E. GRANRUD, Northfield, Minn.: Five Years of Alexander Hamilton's Public Life.

Dr. Leo S. Rowe then addressed the Academy upon "Some Factors of Municipal Efficiency."

The first portion of the speaker's remarks was devoted to a comparison of the views of De Tocqueville and Bryce on American political institutions. It is interesting to note the great difference in their final judgment of local government in the United States. We pass, here, from De Tocqueville's effusive admiration to Bryce's conclusion that "the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure in the United States." The causes of this change of opinion are to be found in the new conditions of city life which have been developed since the '30's. The problem of city government, which has so rapidly grown in importance, must be met on the basis of our own peculiar conditions. In turning to foreign cities, therefore, it is to see what they are actually accomplishing rather than to set up any specific organization modeled upon them; to examine into the principles,

which are the ultimate causes of efficiency, rather than to select this or that municipal institution for imitation.

With these restrictive conditions in mind we must, nevertheless, recognize a very close analogy in the nature of the problems great cities have to deal with, and that the possibilities of profiting by each other's experience deserve to be more generally emphasized. Taking Berlin as the best example of a well-governed city, Dr. Rowe went on to show the rapid growth of the Prussian capital, and the very striking analogies to the great American municipalities which it presents.

The financial system of Berlin was then examined, the highly developed form of income tax receiving special attention. Of interest, in this connection, is the relation between the revenue from taxes and that from other sources; especially the profits from such city enterprises as water, gas, markets and slaughter-houses. The former, which is entirely a system of direct taxation, furnishes \$9,000,000, or less than fifty per cent; the latter \$3,500,000, or nineteen per cent of the total income of the city.

After a summary consideration of the general financial condition of the city the main portion of the subject was reached, viz.: the analysis of the main causes of efficiency of the various municipal departments. No one particular service, but the entire range of municipal action was made to show that the explanation of the fact that the citizens of Berlin are receiving from their city administration a quantum of necessities, comforts and luxuries far greater than in any of the other great cities of the world, was to be found in the simple fact that the people of Berlin have realized the true nature of municipal problems and the part municipal action must play in the daily life of the citizen. They fully appreciate that inefficient service means the impaired health and happiness of the whole community, and the destruction of a whole mass of those social pleasures characteristic of German life. Each citizen feels, therefore, a strong personal



interest in municipal affairs, and when brought face to face with the difficult problems, which confront every municipality, it was looked upon as a matter of course that these should be met on business principles, combined with the very best scientific and technical knowledge. To illustrate this the main branches of the city administration were closely examined. Berlin is, beyond all doubt, the most uniformly clean of the great cities. The fact that a far greater proportion of the average German's daily life is spent outside the home than is the case with the American, causes him to look upon the public highways from a standpoint differing materially from that of the American public. Filthy streets would make life absolutely intolerable to a very large class of the citizens. It is not surprising, therefore, that the problem of street cleaning was very soon recognized to be one of those requiring the skillful management of a thoroughly trained expert who was to make this particular service his life-study. The result has been that in the course of years a system of street-cleaning has been developed which stands unrivaled in the history of modern municipalities. And all this at the relatively low cost of \$450,000, or less than three cents per head. The keen interest shown by the great mass of the population in this, as in every one of the municipal departments, is not only the primary cause of this business-like way of grappling with municipal problems, but contributes directly to the efficiency of the service. The director of the department finds the active co-operation of the citizens in furnishing positive information as to the needs of different localities and unsparing criticism in case of any shortcomings, one of his greatest aids.

The examination of the water, gas and drainage systems of Berlin shows conclusively that the city possessed but very few physical advantages to aid it in the task. Few cities have had such enormous obstacles to overcome in order to obtain an abundant supply of pure water and a system of

drainage which should meet all sanitary requirements. In the management of these departments we find the same principles realized as in the case of street cleaning. No debate, no difference of opinion existed as to the proper method of meeting the problem. Officials whose scientific training and administrative capacity were generally recognized were placed in charge. With each it was made a life-work, and the public expected in return the continual improvement of the service in conformity with the latest advances in engineering and sanitation.

The result has been a gas and water supply and drainage system which are the envy of American tourists. With an excellent water supply, to which the reduction of mortality from 31.2 to 21.57 in ten years is in no small measure due, the department has, nevertheless, continually shown a surplus of receipts over expenditures, which in 1892, amounted to over one million dollars.

In the city gas works, where the same methods prevail, the surplus was more than one and a half millions, although the price of gas was thirty per cent less than at Philadelphia, and its lighting power at least twenty-five per cent greater. The city markets and slaughter-house, which are models of business-like administration, also yield a surplus of nearly half a million. The profits are very much reduced by the fact that of late years the desire to extend all municipal services to all classes of the population has led to a reduction of their cost to the citizens.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the history of the municipal government of Berlin is the relation of the city to its street railway companies. Not only did it require certain payments for the original franchise, not only does it hold the companies to the strict fulfillment of their contract obligations as regards street cleaning and paving, but it has assured to itself annual payments, which increase with the growth of the city. It did not hamper the companies through an enormous license tax on each car, as Paris has done, but

stipulated that the company should pay a certain percentage of its gross receipts into the city treasury, ranging from four per cent when such total receipts are less than \$1,500,000, to eight per cent when they exceed \$4,000,000. Last year the income from this source amounted to \$300,000. The franchises were only granted for a period of forty years, at the end of which (1911) all street-car lines become the property of the city. The rolling-stock must be sold to the city by the company at a reasonable figure or else suffer expropriation.

We have in these departments under consideration a few of the instances where the intense municipal life of Berlin finds its expression in efficient services at a low cost. The feeling of solidarity which is the direct product of the keen general interest in municipal affairs has given birth to a mass of municipal institutions which have enormously increased the field of municipal usefulness. We have instances of this in the "Municipal Fire Insurance Institute," through which the city protects property owners at very low rates, the "Municipal Mortgage Loan Institute," which has been productive of much good in loaning money on mortgage security, the "Municipal Collateral Loan Institute," which has made pawnbroking abuses a thing of the past, and has relieved untold suffering. At every turn the study of Berlin life shows us this active interest of the citizen in public affairs and the consequent appreciation of the unlimited possibilities of municipal life.

This is the great lesson Berlin has to teach us. It is to the general recognition of the same principles that we must look for any radical and permanent changes in our methods of city government. The attitude of our urban population toward municipal institutions must change, as well as that of our State governments. The citizens must be made to see and feel what their city can do, if they only *choose* to make it what it should be. When we see the magnificent results accomplished by Berlin can we any longer doubt as

to our own possibilities? With political education more highly developed, with superior business capacities and well-being more generally diffused, there is no reason why we should not develop a municipal life and city government which shall outrank in its achievements all European cities. Berlin experience points to the principles we must first recognize.

In the discussion of the paper Professor Falkner said:

“The paper has commended in the municipal government of Berlin on the one hand the mechanism of its administration, on the other the extent and excellence of municipal services. The budgets of Berlin and Philadelphia are nearly equal. Berlin is truly the larger city in population, but not in area. In 1880 Berlin had 36,000 dwelling places, Philadelphia, 142,000. That means for Philadelphia a much larger area to be supplied with water, gas and electricity, of streets to be paved and streets to be cleaned, and a much vaster extent of the sewage system. If we always bear in mind the system of construction in America as compared with European cities, I feel sure that we shall find municipal services in the former by no means so extravagantly costly as they are often represented to be.”

Mr. J. G. Rosengarten said: “Mr. Chairman, Dr. Rowe’s paper is one of great value and interest. I wish he had put more stress on Stein’s organization of the German municipalities, as part of his preparation for that popular uprising against Napoleon, which has culminated in our own day in the establishment of the German Empire as the great factor of modern Europe. Gneist did good work in the charter of Berlin, but it was only part and parcel of the reorganization which followed the making of the Germany of to-day by Bismarck and Moltke. It must always be borne in mind that the military spirit governs both Berlin and Prussia, as parts of the Empire, which is itself based on military strength. It is the strong hand of the army that controls the City of Berlin and makes its administration to-day such a shining example of what municipal government can do.

The Mayor of Berlin is practically chosen by the Emperor, not by popular suffrage, and he is selected for capacity shown and tested in other cities, and not on party grounds. The legislative body of Berlin is practically composed of paid experts, trained by long years of study for their work. The universities of Germany teach administration, *kameralwissenschaft* is one of the branches of liberal education, and admission to the bureaucracy is made by the test of successive examinations, and not by a 'boss' or by a political pull. The imperial purse is drawn on liberally for those great improvements that have made Berlin in fact as well as in name, the capital of Germany. With such aid it is not surprising that Berlin is to-day the best administered city of the world. It draws strength from the co-operation of its best citizens, not by popular votes, but as representatives of its leading guilds. It is as though the College of Physicians, the Board of Trade and similar bodies here were to select their best men to represent in the city government those matters of which they have special cognizance. The people have little as a body to do with the choice of those who govern them. There is no such anomaly as schools controlled by local boards chosen by the people and a central board chosen by the judges, but the Department of Education, under a minister of State, assisted by experts who have made a lifelong study of pedagogy, absolutely control the schools. The only popular representation in their affairs is in the visitors nominated by the government from those really qualified to test the work done in the schools—university professors, medical men, clergymen, lawyers, merchants, all experts in their special subjects, and all they can do is to give advice, based upon actual personal observation of methods and results. They have nothing to do with the choice of the teachers, for that is part and parcel of that personal and paternal government which still holds good of every part of the German Empire. The dissatisfaction of the body of the people with militarism and bureaucracy is

shown in the selection of socialists and advanced liberals and others in opposition to the existing party in power and its methods, but they can do little harm and less good in the actual administration of either city or State. Berlin has undoubtedly been transformed in the last twenty years, but this has been done by men and methods that can never be secured here. We can, however, learn from its technical administration to abolish our slums, to mend our ways, to secure a good water supply, to reform our finances, to introduce a larger share of unpaid supervision, and to make that 'New Philadelphia' for which we are all heartily hoping.

"Let me commend to your attention Mr. Pollard's capital little book on the 'Municipal Administration of Berlin.' He speaks with the authority and experience gained in working for reform in Glasgow, and what has been done there has been done too in Birmingham and Manchester, and in other large English towns. We are all indebted to Dr. Rowe for his exhaustive study of the theory upon which the work has been done in Berlin, and it is applied with equally good results in Hamburg and Magdeburg and other German towns. It cannot, however, be introduced here, and we must work out our own difficulties for ourselves, helped on perhaps by the example of German and English experience, but relying on our own mother wit for a relief from the recognized evils of our own municipal administration and of that which weighs so heavily on other American cities, nearly all in need of thoroughgoing reform.

"The Bullitt Bill has done much for Philadelphia, but much more remains to be done. It is very gratifying to find the good work of the graduating class of the Wharton School in their careful study of our city government in the volume of essays lately printed. Some member of some future graduating class profiting by the instruction there received, may yet hit upon a plan for such reforms as will secure for Philadelphia that administration of its needs and its resources that will best meet the question that has as yet

remained unanswered—how to govern this city so that it shall be as wholesome, as attractive, as well administered as Berlin. Dr. Rowe has contributed greatly to our better knowledge of what has been done there and how it was done, and I trust that we shall all benefit by what he has said, and that his paper may be printed and widely distributed, so as to be a contribution to the need for information on the subject.”

Rev. W. I. Nichols stated that he had listened with much pleasure to the address of Dr. Rowe, and remarked that in addition to the very just criticisms of municipal government as exhibited in American cities, and especially in Philadelphia, in the matter of the supply of water and gas, and in the care of the streets, and in providing means of transportation, a still more serious evil exists in regard to the conduct of the schools. There is hardly any other large city in America in which is maintained so bad a system of management of the schools. In every ward there is a board of school directors having charge of the schools in that district, and to a very great extent the boards of the different districts are independent of one another. This means that the schools of Philadelphia are controlled by a body of nearly five hundred men, and as the position of school director is usually considered a political office, men are chosen with very little regard to their interest in education. An election to a district school board is sought as a step in the course of political advancement.

Very many of the members of these local school boards are entirely unfit for the duties which should be performed by them. And this evil is more detrimental to the city than any of those which relate chiefly to the material condition of the people. A good system of education for the young is at the foundation of all prosperity for the coming generations of the city's inhabitants.

The fundamental cause of the mismanagement of American cities is the bringing to bear of national and State politics

upon the election of city officials. And the duty for those who would reform and purify city government is to make clear and generally understood just how this mingling party politics with municipal business must necessarily cause corruption. There are many honest citizens who do not see why this must be so. They have become so accustomed to the choice of city officials on a basis of party politics that they regard it as disloyalty to the principles in which they believe to ignore them in electing men to conduct the business of the city. If once they could be freed from this utterly unfounded tradition, and if they could be induced to consider candidates for city offices irrespective of their views on national and State politics, with which the officials of a city, as such, have nothing to do, there would not be great difficulty in selecting men who would manage the affairs of the city honestly and wisely. The number of citizens who desire good city government is much greater than of those who have anything to gain from a corrupt administration of municipal affairs, but so long as the few who have controlling influence in the party machinery can rely upon the adherence of the members of their party they will secure the nomination of men for municipal offices whom they can use for selfish ends. Once let the honest voters of a city agree to disregard political questions—which are entirely irrelevant to the questions at issue—and the political parties would be obliged to nominate good candidates for city offices, or such would be nominated independently and elected. The separation of party politics from municipal business, is the motto for those who would promote municipal reform and obtain good city government.

Professor Simon N. Patten called attention to the fact that the real difficulties of city government lay in the subjective environment of the American people and were due to the instincts inherited from past times when the social and civic life was determined by other conditions. The strong social instincts of the Anglo-Saxon race relate to space conditions.



The principle that every man's house is his castle is dear to every American, and illustrates how we have preserved independence and liberty by keeping the social world beyond prescribed boundaries.

National liberties also, rest on what may be called space instincts. The Strait of Dover has saved England from many a disaster, while the broad ocean and the nearness of the mountains to our eastern coast were the determining factors in securing our independence.

We come, therefore, into modern city life with strong space instincts through which home life is emphasized. The demand is strong for isolated houses, for single families in which the instincts of country life may be preserved. Our residence regions might be called condensed farms, as in some way the peculiarities of farm-life show themselves in every home both in the form of the house and the habits of its occupants.

To preserve these peculiarities and to make them as obvious as possible is the cherished object of every family. The income of the family is, therefore, largely used for these ends, leaving little or no surplus for the bettering of the outer conditions upon which the civic life depends. A man, for example, in the morning eats his breakfast, reads his paper and has his family intercourse under as isolated conditions as if he were on a farm and would be strongly moved if this quiet were disturbed in any way. But he will leave this isolated atmosphere and ride to his business-place hanging on to the steps of a crowded street-car without the slightest feeling of inadequateness. Were his civic feelings as strong as his home feelings, his outer civic relations would be revolutionized. Good government is a matter of feeling and instinct and not of mere business. No mechanical devices can create good government. The only hope rests in developing as deep and permanent feelings and instincts about civic life as have been developed already in our home life. These new civic feelings show themselves plainly in German city life,

and that is why the study of the conditions of Berlin is for us so valuable.

Professor Joseph French Johnson said he wished Dr. Rowe had indicated the causes to which, in his opinion, Berlin owed the excellence of its administration. If it is wholly due to the fact that the citizens of Berlin are full of civic pride and not neglectful of civic duty, then the question arises, by what means were the people of Berlin brought to this state of mind and conscience? In American cities it seems almost impossible to arouse the people to any interest whatever in purely local issues, and in consequence the government of cities, with all its patronage, is in the hands of professional politicians, who use its offices and revenues to run the machinery of national politics. Why is the case different in Berlin? How does it happen that the people of Berlin are determined that their municipal officers shall be wise, economical and business-like in the expenditure of public funds? If we know what has awakened the citizens of Berlin to a sense of civic duty and responsibility, we may get a hint that will be useful here at home. Professor Johnson was not inclined to agree with Dr. Patten that the habits and customs of Germans accounted for their greater interest in city government as compared with Americans, nor with Rev. Mr. Nichols in holding that the evils of American city government were owing to the intrusion of national politics. In cities governed under systems which scatter responsibility, each officer being able to shield himself behind a claim of incomplete jurisdiction or authority, so that no one man could be condemned as responsible for a particular evil, experience has partially justified the introduction of national politics into city affairs, for the people are thus able to fix upon a party the responsibility which they could not attach to any individual sinner. However, if a system of municipal government permits a definite apportionment of responsibility, as do the charters of Brooklyn and Philadelphia, for instance, there is no excuse for

dividing the people upon the lines of national politics in the selection of administrative officers. The presence of national politics in local affairs is not the real and responsible cause of poor local administration, but is rather one of the effects of the deeper lying cause, namely, the indifference and apathy of the people. The problem of municipal reform is twofold : first, we must get the best system, and second, the people must be made to feel that it is to their interest to put the best men into power. There must be aroused in the people, first, a civic consciousness, so that they may understand the relation between city government and their pocket-books, their comfort and general welfare; and, second, a civic conscience that will compel the performance of civic duties for the sake of others. Except by the education of the children and of the voter I know of no way to attain these results.